

## Message Text

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EXDIS, FOR ASST SECY HOLBROOKE ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT PEKING 1269 SENT ACTION SECSTATE MAY 05.  
QUOTE S E C R E T PEKING 1269

EXDIS

FOR NSC DR. BRZEZINSKI AND EA/PRCM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP CH US

SUBJ: BRZEZINSKI VISIT TO PEKING

SUMMARY: IN YOUR TALKS WITH PRC OFFICIALS, WHO MAY WELL  
INCLUDE VICE PREMIERS KENG PIAO AND TENG HSIAO-PING, YOU  
WILL FIND THE CHINESE MAINLY CONCERNED WITH THE RELATIVE  
STRATEGIC STRENGTH OF THE US AND USSR. ALMOST CERTAIN  
TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION INCLUDE DETENTE, SALT AND OTHER  
DISARMAMENT ISSUES, THE NEUTRON BOMB, ENERGY, AND  
DEFENSE OF THE DOLLAR. END SUMMARY.

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1. DURING YOUR VISIT TO PEKING, YOUR PRINCIPAL COUNTER-  
PART MAY BE VICE PREMIER JENG PIAO, WHO SINCE HIS APPOINTMENT  
TO THAT POST IN MARCH HAS ACTED AS THE  
MAJOR PRC SPOKESMAN ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS. KENG IS A  
NEW AND UNFAMILIAR INTERLOCUTOR FOR OFFICIAL AMERICANS  
BUT OUR CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION LED BY HENRY REUSS  
IN MARCH FOUND HIM RELAXED AND WELL IN COMMAND OF

HIS BRIEF, SOMEWHAT CAUTIOUS BUT UNDOGMATIC. FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA COULD WELL BE IN NEW YORK AT THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE AS YET NO CONFIRMATION OF THIS. YOU WON'T MISS MUCH IF HE IS GONE; TALKS WITH HUANG ARE PROBABLY THE LEAST REWARDING OF ANY WITH TOP CHINESE OFFICIALS. YOU CAN PROBABLY ALSO EXPECT TO MEET VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING, WHO HAS TAKEN A CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. A CALL ON PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG IS POSSIBLE, ALTHOUGH HUA USUALLY RECEIVES ONLY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS, AND SOME FOREIGN MINISTERS

2. I UNDERSTAND THAT YOU WILL WANT TO DISCUSS U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE AND THIS WILL FIT INTO THE USUAL FORMAT OF HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSIONS HERE; "TRIPS AROUND THE WORLD" WITH LEISURELY STOPS AT POINTS WHERE THE CHINESE SEE PARTICULAR DANGERS OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. IT WILL BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL FOR THE CHINESE LEADERS TO HEAR AN AUTHORITATIVE EXPOSITION ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND ESPECIALLY ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF SALT. PEKING CONTINUES TO MOUNT A CONSIDERABLE PROPAGANDA EFFORT, WHICH IS SUPPLEMENTED IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS, DEPICTING THE UNITED STATES AS A DECLINING SUPERPOWER WHOSE VACILLATING POLICY

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TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION HAS RESULTED IN AN INCREASE IN MOSCOW'S RELATIVE MILITARY STRENGTH AND THE EXPANSION OF ITS INFLUENCE IN THE THIRD WORLD (E.G., ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA). LAST MONTH SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER SODER WAS CONFRONTED WITH CHINESE DENUNCIATIONS OF THE SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE AND PRM-10, AS WAS BRITISH AIR MARSHAL CAMERON IN HIS TALKS WITH HUA KUO-FENG APRIL 30. WHILE WE ARE NOT SANGUINE THAT PEKING CAN BE PERSUADED TO CHANGE ITS PUBLIC TUNE, WE STILL THINK YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN AT SOME LENGTH THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING OUR DETENTE POLICY. WE BELIEVE THAT STRONG PRESENTATIONS BY SENATORS HART AND KENNEDY THIS WINTER ON OUR DISARMAMENT POLICIES MAY HAVE GOTTEN THROUGH TO THE CHINESE DESPITE THE CONTINUITY IN THEIR PROPAGANDA LINE. AN EXPLANATION OF THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE APRIL 7 ANNOUNCEMENT TO DEFER NEUTRON WARHEAD PRODUCTIONS, WHICH HAS BEEN HEAVILY CRITICIZED BY THE CHINESE, WOULD BE ESPECIALLY HELPFUL.

3. YOU MIGHT ALSO EXPLORE WITH CHINESE LEADERS THE POSSIBILITY OF PRC PARTICIPATION IN DISARMAMENT TALKS SUCH AS THE CCD. WHILE PEKING'S POSITION HAS BEEN

THAT ALL DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS UP UNTIL NOW HAVE BEEN A SHAM, THERE ARE SOME SIGNS -- SUCH AS PRC PARTICIPATION IN THE SSOD -- THAT THE CHINESE MAY BE EDGING TOWARD A RECONSIDERATION OF THIS STANCE. THEY WOULD BENEFIT FROM HEARING OUR VIEWS ON HOW DISARMAMENT TALKS COULD LEAD TO REAL LIMITATIONS ON THE SOVIET ARMS BUILDUP.

4. I THINK IT MIGHT ALSO BE APPROPRIATE FOR YOU TO DISCUSS THE ADMINISTRATION'S ENERGY PROGRAM. CHINESE OFFICIALS HAVE ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS INDICATED (E.G., TO CONGRESSMAN REUSS' DELEGATION) THAT THEY FEEL THE LACK OF AN EFFECTIVE AMERICAN ENERGY PROGRAM IS HARMING THE UNITED STATES' ABILITY TO PERFORM  
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EFFECTIVELY IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. WHATEVER ASSURANCES YOU CAN PROVIDE ON THIS SUBJECT WOULD HAVE A SALUTORY EFFECT.

5. A RELATED ISSUE IS THE INTERNATIONAL STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR. YOU MIGHT WISH TO COME PREPARED TO ALLAY CHINESE APPREHENSION ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO STABILIZE THE VALUE OF THE DOLLAR AND THUS CONTRIBUTE TO THE ECONOMIC STABILITY OF THE WEST.

6. FOR THEIR PART, CHINESE LEADERS CAN BE EXPECTED TO SET FORTH THEIR THESIS OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM AND THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR BETWEEN THE "TWO SUPER-POWERS." ON THIS LAST POINT, THE CHINESE POSITION HAS UNDERGONE A SUBTLE CHANGE OVER THE PAST YEAR. PRC LEADERS BEGAN LAST SUMMER TO SAY THAT THE "INEVITABLE" WAR COULD BE POSTPONED THROUGH ADEQUATE DETERRENT MEASURES. THEY ARE NO LONGER SO ADAMANT THAT WAR MUST START AS AN EAST-WEST CONFLICT, WITH EUROPE AS THE FOCUS. WHILE THIS IS STILL SEEN AS THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO, AND WAS JUST RESTATED BY HUA KUO-FENG AND DEFENSE MINISTER HSU HSIANG-CHEN IN DISCUSSIONS WITH AIR MARSHAL CAMERON, CHINESE LEADERS HAVE RECENTLY ADMITTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A SOVIET ATTACK ON CHINA (AS IN TENG'S MARCH 23 CONVERSATION WITH WEST GERMAN POLITICIAN ZIMMERMANN). IN ONE CASE (VICE FOREIGN MINISTER HO YING'S INTERVIEW WITH THE NORMAN LEAR GROUP) THEY MAY HAVE EVEN REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF AN AMERICAN ATTACK ON THE SOVIET REAR IN THE EVENT OF A SINO-SOVIET WAR.

7. TENG HSIAO-PING AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE OF COURSE  
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WELL AWARE THAT CHINA PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN U.S. STRATEGIC THINKING VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. FROM THEIR VANTAGE POINT, THEY VIEW THE UNITED STATES ROLE IN MUCH THE SAME WAY. THEY ARE NEVERTHELESS SENSITIVE ABOUT THEIR RELATIVE WEAKNESS IN THIS STRATEGIC TRIANGLE AND RESENT ANY IMPLICATION THAT THEIR IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES LIES ONLY IN THEIR ENMITY TO THE SOVIET UNION. RECENT AMERICAN NEWSPAPER SPECULATION ABOUT THE VALUE OF THE "CHINESE CARD" HAS PROBABLY INCREASED THEIR SENSITIVITY ON THIS POINT.

8. I THINK YOUR VISIT COMES AT A PARTICULARLY GOOD TIME. THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP SEEMS TO HAVE SHAKEN DOWN SOMEWHAT AND TENG HSIAO-PING'S PRAGMATIC LINE CAN BE USEFUL TO US. WE ARE NATURALLY LOOKING FORWARD TO PROVIDING YOU THE BEST SUPPORT WE CAN. I WOULD BE HAPPY TO COMMENT ON THE TALKING POINTS YOU INTEND TO RAISE WITH THE CHINESE IF THEY ARE COMPLETED IN TIME. PLEASE LET ME KNOW OF ANY SPECIAL SUPPORT WHICH YOU MAY REQUIRE.

9. WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU ON MAY 20.  
WOODCOCK  
UNQUOTE VANCE

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NNN

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